

MAGISTRATES (IRELAND).



RETURN to an Order of the Honorable The House of Commons,
dated 20 June 1843:—for,

COPIES of any LETTERS written by any MAGISTRATE in *Ireland* to the LORD CHANCELLOR of *Ireland*, or by the LORD CHANCELLOR of *Ireland*, or by his Direction, to any MAGISTRATE in *Ireland*, respecting the superseding of any Magistrates from the Commission of the Peace in *Ireland*, since the 1st day of May 1843.

(*Captain Bernal.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
4 July 1843.

COPIES of LETTERS written by MAGISTRATES in *Ireland* to the LORD CHANCELLOR of *Ireland*, or by the LORD CHANCELLOR of *Ireland*, or by his Direction, to MAGISTRATES in *Ireland*, respecting the superseding of such Magistrates from the Commission of the Peace in *Ireland*.

SEVERAL Letters have passed between Mr. Barter, a magistrate for the county of Cork, and the Secretary of the Lord Chancellor, and between the Earl of Bandon, the Lieutenant of the county of Cork, and the Secretary, relating to the superseding of Mr. Barter; but as they relate to personal charges, and include charges against another magistrate now under consideration, it has been thought right not to transmit copies of them without the direct Order of The House. Mr. Barter was superseded upon grounds wholly unconnected with the repeal movement.

Copies of Letters to and from the following magistrates are herewith forwarded :

		Dates of Letters.	
The Lord French	3	May 17. 19. 23.	
The Honourable Thomas Fitzmaurice	1	" 23.	
The Honourable M. J. Fitzmaurice	1	" 25.	
The Honourable Colonel Butler, M. P.	3	" 23, 24, 25.	
The Lord Cloncurry	2	June 4. 12.	
Sir M. Dillon Beller	2	May 24. 26.	
Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M. P.	2	" 23. 27.	
Maurice O'Connell, Esq., M. P.	1	" 23.	
Charles O'Connell, Esq.	2	" 23. 31.	
Daniel Clonachy, Esq.	2	" 23. 24.	
R. A. Fitzgerald, Esq.	2	" 25. 31.	
John O'Hara, Esq.	2	" 28. 29.	
Maurice Power, Esq.	2	June 1. 5.	
John Power, Esq.	2	" 5. 5.	
W. S. O'Brien, Esq.	2	{ May 29. June 1.	
Nicholas Boylan, Esq.	1	May 24.	
Patrick Corbin, Esq.	2	June 2. 5.	
James Sinclair, Esq.	1	" 5.	
Francis Camyn, Esq.	2	{ May 30. June 2.	
Keen Mahony, Esq.	1	May 30.	
P. S. Butler, Esq.	2	" 25. 26.	
George Delany, Esq.	1	June 6.	
Sir Patrick Beller	2	" 2. 5.	
W. F. Finn, Esq.	2	" 7. 8.	
J. H. Walsh, Esq.	3	" 14. 15. 18.	
Richard de Varden, Esq.	2	{ May 30. June 1.	
Christopher Nugent, Esq.	2	" 10. 14.	
Calish Powell, Esq., M. P.	1	May 27.	
J. M. Macdonnell, Esq.	5	{ " 24. 26. 30. June 2. 5.	
James Roe, Esq.	2	May 27. 28.	
Alexander Sherbock, Esq.	2	{ " 23. and Answer, without date.	
J. H. Talbot, Esq.	2	June 2. 5.	
Henry Grantan, Esq., M. P.	4	" 3. 5. 8. 10.	
Thomas Ennis, Esq.	2	" 2. 5.	
Patrick Terzan, Esq.	2	" 1. 5.	
J. P. Somers, Esq., M. P.	1	May 25.	
R. Dillon Browne, Esq., M. P.	1	" 25.	
The Lord Greww	7	{ May 31. June 7. 8. 10. 12. 16. 21.	
Hewitt Bridgeman, Esq., M. P.	1	June 21.	
Cornelius O'Brien, Esq., M. P.	1	" 21.	
James Harlin O'Brien, Esq.	3	" 15. 16. 17.	
Sir R. Musgrave, Bart.	3	" 20. 21. 23.	
Thomas Phillips, Esq.	3	{ May 25. June 17. 19.	

There have been several letters addressed to the Lord Chancellor by magistrates, relating to supersedeas, published in the newspapers, of which no copy or notice was sent to the Lord Chancellor, and of which, therefore, no copy can be furnished from the Secretary's office.

There

There have also been forged letters of resignation in the names of magistrates, which are not included in this Return. The two first were not detected in time, and the magistrates were superseded, but immediately afterwards reinstated.

Henry Sugden,

Secretary to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

Four Courts, Dublin,
28 June 1843.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
17 May 1843.

My Lord,

THE Lord Chancellor's attention having been drawn to a letter published in the newspapers, purporting to be signed by your Lordship, in which you agree to fill the chair at a repeal meeting, to be held at Caltra on the 21st instant, of ten parishes, and a printed placard having been laid before the Lord Chancellor announcing the meeting, and that your Lordship will attend the meeting, I am directed to ask your Lordship, in your character of a magistrate for the county of Galway, whether these statements are correct.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

The Lord Ffrench,
&c. &c. &c.

(A true copy.)

Henry Sugden.

Sir,

Castle Ffrench, Ahascra, 19 May 1843.

I HAVE by this day's post had the honour to receive a letter, bearing date the 17th instant, from you, as the Secretary of the Lord Chancellor.

In reply, I have the honour to state, for the information of the Lord Chancellor, that I signed no letter agreeing to fill the chair at the meeting to be held at Caltra, but I did write a letter agreeing to fill the chair at a repeal meeting to be held in Athlone; and I have further to state, that it is my intention to attend the meeting at Caltra, as well as that which is to be held in Athlone, both being for the legal and constitutional purpose of petitioning for the repeal of the Legislative Union.

I have, &c.

Ffrench.

Henry Sugden, Esq.,
&c. &c. &c.

(A true copy.)

Henry Sugden,
Secretary to the Lord Chancellor.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
23 May 1843.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your Lordship's letter of the 19th instant, stating that it was your intention to attend the repeal meeting at Caltra, as well as that which is to be held in Athlone; and I am directed by the Lord Chancellor to inform your Lordship, that he regrets he has felt it his duty to direct your Lordship to be superseded as a magistrate for the county of Galway. It has been his earnest desire not to interfere with the expression of opinion by any magistrate in favour of repeal, although, from his arrival here, he deemed it inconsistent with the determination of Her Majesty's Government to uphold the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to appoint as a magistrate any person pledged to the repeal of that Union. Her Majesty's Government having recently declared, in both Houses of Parliament, their fixed determination to maintain the Union, it becomes the duty of the Members of the Government to support that declaration. The allegation that the numerous repeal meetings are not illegal does not diminish their inevitable tendency to outrage; and, considering the subject in all its bearings, it is the opinion of the Lord Chancellor that such meetings are not in the spirit of the constitution, and may become dangerous to the safety of the State. It is necessary, therefore, that the Government should be able to place a firm reliance on the watchfulness and determination of the magistracy to preserve the public peace. A magistrate who presides over or forms part of such a meeting can neither be prepared to repress violence, nor could he be expected to act against a body for whose offence he would himself be responsible. To such persons the preservation of the public peace, during the present agitation, cannot be safely intrusted. Your Lordship's determination to preside over such a meeting, immediately after the declarations in Parliament, proves to the Lord Chancellor that the time has arrived for evincing the determination of this Government to delegate no power to those who seek by such measures as are now pursued to dissolve the Legislative Union. To allow such persons any longer to remain in the commission of the peace would be to afford the power of the Crown to the carrying of a

measure which Her Majesty has, like Her predecessor, expressed Her determination to prevent. This view of the case, which the step taken by your Lordship has forced upon the attention of the Lord Chancellor, will compel him at once to supersede any other magistrate who, since the declarations in Parliament, have attended like repeal meetings. He thinks that such a measure is not at variance with the resolution of the Government, whilst they watch over public tranquillity, and oppose the repeal movement, still to act with forbearance and conciliation, and to devote their best energies to improve the institutions and promote the prosperity of Ireland.

I have, &c.

The Lord Ffrench,
&c. &c. &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

(A true copy.)

Henry Sugden.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
23 May 1843.

Sir,

ACCORDING to an official report forwarded to the Lord Chancellor, you were present and assisting at the late repeal meeting at Caltra, and consequently, for the reasons stated in my letter of this day to Lord Ffrench, the Lord Chancellor has, he regrets to say, felt it his duty to supersede you as a magistrate. But lest there should be any mistake in the report, the supersedeas will not be issued until this day week, in order to give you time to make any communication to the Lord Chancellor you may think proper.

I have, &c.

The Hon. Thomas Ffrench,
&c. &c. &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
24 May 1843.

Sir,

ACCORDING to an official report forwarded to the Lord Chancellor, you were present and assisting at the late repeal meeting at Caltra, and consequently, for the reasons stated in my letter of this day to Lord Ffrench, the Lord Chancellor has, he regrets to say, felt it his duty to supersede you as a magistrate. But lest there should be any mistake in the report, the supersedeas will not be issued until this day week, in order to give you time to make any communication to the Lord Chancellor you may think proper.

I have, &c.

The Hon. M. J. Ffrench,
&c. &c. &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
23 May 1843.

Sir,

THE Kilkenny Journal of the 20th instant has been forwarded to the Lord Chancellor, in which, under the head of "Kilkenny Repeal Demonstration," your name is inserted as one of the persons calling a meeting for the 8th of June next: I am directed to ask you, as a magistrate for the county of Kilkenny, whether your name was inserted in the list with your approbation.

I have, &c.

Col. the Hon. P. Butler, M. P.
&c. &c. &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Sir,

Ballyconra, 24 May 1843.

COLORNET Butler, having an inflamed eye, has deputed me to beg you will inform the Lord Chancellor that his name was inserted in the requisition contained in the Kilkenny Journal with reference to the repeal demonstration for this county, but that he distinctly stated at the time he sanctioned it, that it would be out of his power to attend, nor is it now his intention to do so.

I have, &c.

Edward Butler.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
25 May 1843.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Edmund Butler's letter of the 24th instant, stating that your name was inserted in the requisition contained in the Kilkenny Journal with reference to the repeal demonstration for this county, but that you distinctly stated at the time you sanctioned it, that it would be out of your power to attend, nor was it now your intention to do so. As this letter contains no statement that you had withdrawn your sanction from the meeting, I am directed to inform you that the Lord Chancellor regrets that he has felt it his duty to supersede you as a magistrate for the county of Kilkenny.

I have, &c.

Colonel the Hon. P. Butler,
&c. &c. &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

My Lord Chancellor, Baqutres, 4 June 1843.
I DESIRE to be superseded in the commission of the peace for Ireland.

I have, &c.

Cloncurry, r. c.

Right hon. Sir Edward Sugden,
Lord High Chancellor of Ireland.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
12 June 1843.

My Lord,

By direction of the Lord Chancellor, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 4th instant, desiring to be superseded in the commission of the peace for Ireland, and I am directed to state that your Lordship's request has been complied with.

I have, &c.

The Lord Cloncurry,
&c. &c. &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
24 May 1843.

Sir,

It having been reported to the Lord Chancellor that you signed the invitation to Mr. O'Connell to attend the repeal meeting at Athlone, I am directed to ask you, as a magistrate of the county of Galway, whether the report be correct, and whether you attended the meeting itself.

I have, &c.

Sir M. D. Bellow, Bart.
&c. &c. &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

No. 1, Kildare-place, 26 May 1843.

Sir,

I ONLY this day had the honour to receive your letter, in consequence of its having been directed to my residence in the country.

You wish to know, by direction of the Lord Chancellor, if the report is correct as to whether I have signed the invitation to Mr. O'Connell to attend the repeal meeting at Athlone.

In reply, I beg to state that I received a letter requesting my authority to affix my name to that invitation, which permission I gave. As to the meeting which you require to know if I had attended, it has not taken place.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

M. D. Bellow.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
23 May 1843.

Sir,

I am directed by the Lord Chancellor to inform you, that it is with regret that he has felt it his duty to supersede you as a magistrate for the county of Kerry.

I beg to enclose a copy of a letter written by the Lord Chancellor's direction to Lord Pifrench, which will explain to you the grounds upon which this step has been taken.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P.
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

30, Merrion-square, 27 May 1843.

On my return to town from attending four meetings—peaceable and perfectly legal meetings—held to petition Parliament for the repeal of the Act, intituled, “An Act for the Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland,” I found before me your letter of the 23d instant. For the terms of courtesy in which that letter is couched, I owe you, sir, and I hereby offer you, my best thanks.

I would not willingly be excused by you in courtesy, and I beg of you to believe, that if, in the performance of a sacred duty, I should use any expression of a harsh nature, which I shall studiously endeavour to avoid, it is not my intention to say any thing personally offensive. But that duty obliges me to declare, that as the restoration of the Irish Parliament is an event, in my judgment, not remote, I will avail myself of the opportunity afforded me by a seat in the Irish House of Commons to move for an impeachment of the present Lord Chancellor, for presuming to interfere with the subject's dearest and most precious right—the right of petitioning Parliament—a right expressly declared to belong to the people as one of “the true, ancient and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this realm.” I use the words of the statute, which, it should be remembered, settles the succession of the Crown on the basis of those rights and liberties of the subject. Her Majesty's title, therefore, to the Throne is based upon this right of petition; and the statute expressly declares, “that all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.” The deprivation of the commission of the peace may not be technically a prosecution—but it is intended as a punishment; and punishment without prosecution would make the act of the Lord Chancellor only the more criminal. I mean to insist—and I think the argument will have weight with an Irish Parliament freely and fairly elected—that the act of the Chancellor necessarily endangers the stability of the Throne, and the security of the connexion between the two countries.

The commission of the peace is of very small importance to me, who never acted more than once under that commission. But the principle upon which the Chancellor acts I utterly protest against, as being in its essential nature disloyal, and dangerous alike to the Throne and to the people.

That the repeal meetings to petition Parliament are not illegal, is a proposition admitted in your letter to Lord Ffrench; and really you must permit me to say, that it is in no slight degree absurd to allege that these meetings “have an inevitable tendency to outrage!” Why, meetings were held, as every body in Ireland knows, or ought to know, as numerous—ay, and as peaceably—before the passing of the Emancipation Act, as during the present repeal agitation. There have been, within the last three months, more than 20 of these multitudinous meetings to petition without having caused a single offence. How, then, they can have “an inevitable tendency to outrage,” without having ever produced a single outrage, is not within the comprehension of a mere Irish lawyer, although it may be within the sagacity of an English Chancellor.

How can the Chancellor be of opinion that meetings to petition are not within the spirit of the constitution, when the constitution itself recognizes, sanctions, ay, and enforces the right so to petition? And as to the notion of their becoming dangerous to the safety of the State, the danger to the State would in reality consist in suppressing the groans of the people—in compelling them to brood in silence over their wrongs and their sufferings—and a more wronged and suffering people exist not under the face of heaven than the Irish people. The danger to the State would consist in suppressing the expression of popular opinion—in damming up the constitutional channels of relief, and in thereby driving the people to the wild and hideous “justice of revenge,” instead of leaving to them the fair hopes of relief from the Houses of Parliament and from the Throne.

As to the argument used in your letter to Lord Ffrench, with respect to the inability of the magistrates attending such meetings to repress violence, it bears diametrically the opposite way; for no individual could possibly have so direct and personal an interest in preventing violence and suppressing outrage as magistrates who are parties to, and responsible for, the calling together of such meetings.

With respect to your assertion that Her Majesty has, like Her predecessor, expressed “Her determination to prevent the carrying of the repeal of the Union,” it has filled me with the most utter and inexpressible astonishment. You must know—and indeed I much fear you must have known when you made that assertion—that it was utterly unfounded in fact. Sir Robert Peel has himself admitted the falsity of that statement. Her Majesty, whom the people of Ireland affectionately revere, has made no such declaration. And indeed, I must say, it enhances the criminality of the Lord Chancellor that he has permitted the putting forward, under the sanction of his high name, of a statement so injurious to Her Majesty, and one so strongly tending in itself to expose Her to the odium and hatred (if that were possible) of Her brave, loyal and attached people of Ireland.

As to the concluding paragraph of your letter, which talks of the forbearance and conciliation of the present Government, and of their desire to improve the institutions and promote the prosperity of Ireland, it is calculated only to move the risible faculties of every light-hearted man, and to excite the indignant sorrow of every thinking being, that you should venture to treat the people of Ireland to a specimen of such ludicrous hypocrisy.

Henry Sugden, Esq.
 &c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
 Daniel O'Connell.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
23 June 1843.

I AM directed by the Lord Chancellor to inform you, that it is with regret that he has felt it his duty to supersede you as a magistrate for the county of Kerry.

I beg to enclose a copy of a letter written by the Lord Chancellor's direction to Lord Fitzgibbon, which will explain to you the grounds upon which this step has been taken.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.Maurice O'Connell, Esq., M. P.
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

Ahadha, County Kerry, 29 May 1843.

As it is my intention to attend a repeal meeting at Cahirciveen next Sunday, and wishing to save the Government the trouble of superseding me, I beg most respectfully to tender your Lordship my resignation of the commission of the peace for this county, feeling that it would be no longer an honour to hold it when its deprivation is made a punishment for exercising the right of every British subject to seek in a legal and constitutional manner the repeal of an obnoxious statute.

I take the liberty of observing to your Lordship, that I have not until now taken any part in the repeal movement; but I would consider myself unworthy of the name of Irishman, if I did not, in consequence of the late unconstitutional suspension of magistrates, do every thing in my power, humble as I am, to assist in that great national movement.

I have, &c.

Charles O'Connell.

The Right hon. Sir Edward Sugden, Bart.
Lord High Chancellor, Dublin.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
31 May 1843.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th instant, and to inform you that the Lord Chancellor has superseded you as a magistrate, at your own request.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.Charles O'Connell, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
23 May 1843.

I AM directed by the Lord Chancellor to inform you, that it appears by a report forwarded to him that you attended a repeal dinner at Charleville on the 18th instant, and I am to request that you will inform me whether the report be well founded.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.Daniel Clanchy, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Charleville, 24 May 1843.

IN reply to your letter of 23d instant, I beg to state, for the information of the Lord Chancellor, that I did attend a dinner in this town on the 18th instant, given to Messrs. O'Connell and Roche, at which were persons differing in opinion on the subject of the repeal, as well as on other matters of politics. Messrs. O'Connell and Roche are the representatives in Parliament for this county. I supported them at the last general election, and purpose (please God) doing so at the next. Neither at that meeting nor at any other have I given an opinion on the Act of Union: perhaps my ideas on that question are not as yet sufficiently formed. But this I will say, that my firm intentions are to support such measures only as will promote the interest of Ireland, and at the same time strengthen and preserve the British connexion.

I have, &c.

Daniel Clanchy.

Henry Sugden, Esq.
Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
25 May 1843.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Lord Chancellor to inform you, that it is with regret that he has felt it his duty to supersede you as a magistrate for the county of Cork.

I beg to enclose a copy of a letter written by the Lord Chancellor's direction to Lord Ffrench, which will explain to you the grounds upon which this step has been taken.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

R. A. Fitzgerald, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Muckridge House, 31 May 1843.

IT is a law of society that every gentleman is bound in courtesy to acknowledge the receipt of any letter properly addressed to him. In compliance with such custom, I beg to inform you, that I have received yours of the 25th instant, enclosing copy of a letter written by direction of the Lord Chancellor to Lord Ffrench. The hasty, unceremonious and unconstitutional manner in which I have been treated will be taken notice of in proper time and place; but I must observe, the attempt to degrade me (for exercising my right as a British subject) by depriving me of the commission of the peace has completely failed. It has had quite the contrary effect. I am now exalted beyond measure in the estimation of my countrymen; and as for myself, I consider it the highest honour to have my name associated with that of the illustrious O'Connell, with the names of such men as Lord Ffrench and other brother magistrates, distinguished for high patriotic feelings, rank and influence.

I have, &c.

R. A. Fitzgerald.

Henry Sugden, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

Clonakilty, County Cork, 28 May 1843.

I beg leave respectfully to tender to your Lordship my resignation of the commission of the peace for this county, and to state briefly my reasons for so doing.

Not being a Repealer, and consequently having taken no part in the repeal agitation, I yet fully adopt the language of Lord John Russell, "That this question is as open to discussion as any other Act of Parliament." Holding, my Lord, such views of the sacred right of the British subjects peaceably to meet and petition Parliament, I have read with astonishment the removal by your Lordship of several magistrates from the commission of the peace for having attended public meetings to petition Parliament for a repeal of the Legislative Union. Such an abuse of power by any Government, I hesitate not to assert, is arbitrary, unconstitutional, and tyrannical.

I have, &c.

John O'Hea.

To the Right hon. the Lord Chancellor,
Dublin.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
29 May 1843.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 28th instant, and I am directed to inform you that, in compliance with your request, you have been this day superseded as a magistrate for the county of Cork. If you had confined yourself to a statement of the grounds of your resignation, the Lord Chancellor would have been anxious to satisfy you that the Government had not any intention to interfere with the constitutional right to assemble and petition Parliament for the repeal of any Act of the Legislature; but the concluding paragraph of your letter compels him, without further observation, simply to accept your resignation.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

John O'Hea, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

Ringacounty, Cove of Cork, 1 June 1843.

I beg leave to resign my commission as a magistrate for this county; the duties of which office I have for many years performed with pride and independence, but which, as appears by the declaration of the Government (a declaration on which your Lordship has acted), I can no longer hold without meanness and servility. I have ever been brought to regard the right of petitioning against any grievance, or any Act of the Imperial Legislature that might be considered injurious to the best interests of the country, as the dearest privileges which, as a British subject, I enjoy; and, my Lord, I would not, even for a single day, surrender or put in abeyance that precious right for any place or office the Government could confer.

I beg

I beg you to believe that, in taking this step, I am not actuated by any factious or vindictive feeling towards Her Majesty's Government; I act from higher motives—from principle; for I look with filial reverence on the constitution of my country, and will never be a party to the rendering of this boasted constitution, in the most boasted part of it, a gross imposition upon the understanding of British subjects, an insult to their feelings, and destructive to the best and most valuable liberties of the people. To me it appears a worthier honour to be the instrument of warning, by my example, my fellow-countrymen against any encroachment on their privileges, than to enjoy all that office can bestow.

And as for the power supposed to follow it, I have lived long enough, my Lord, to learn that power and place may be severed; but there is one power I do prize, and of which no contrivance of tyranny, no stretch of prerogative can deprive me, that of being the advocate of my country in those things which concern her best interests.

With these views and these dispositions, I now resign into your Lordship's hands the trust once confided to me, and shall await calmly, but confidently, the return of wiser counsels to our rulers, and the dawn of better days on the bleeding land of my nativity.

I have, &c.

Maurice Power.

The Right hon. Sir Edward Sugden,
Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
5 June 1843.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st of June, and to inform you that the Lord Chancellor has superseded you as a magistrate, at your own request.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Maurice Power, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

(No date. Received 5th June 1843.)
Gurteen. Saturday

My Lord,

I WROTE leave to resign the commission of the peace and deputy lieutenancy of the county of Waterford.

I do not wish to hold any situation under a Government that I believe to be acting in an unconstitutional manner, and must say, that the conduct pursued by the present Ministry with regard to the repeal question appears to me to be so.

I have, &c.

John Power.

The Lord Chancellor.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
5 June 1843.

Sir,

BY the direction of the Lord Chancellor, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of Saturday, and I beg to inform you that you have been superseded as a magistrate, at your own request. The Lord Chancellor has no power over the deputy lieutenants, and the resignation of that appointment should therefore be forwarded to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

John Power, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

London, 29 May 1843.

I AM to resign into the hands of your Lordship my commission of the peace for the counties of Limerick and Clare.

I am not aware that, by any law now in force, it is forbidden to the people of Ireland to seek the repeal of an Act of Parliament which history tells us was obtained by the basest means and by the foulest corruption; and, though anxious to exhaust every hope of good government through other means, before I unite with them in soliciting the repeal of that Act, I cannot consent to retain any office which compels me to forego the acknowledged right to hold and propagate opinions not at variance with moral or statute law, which belongs to every British subject.

Nor am I sorry to be relieved from the responsibility of acting in any capacity under a Government which, whilst it forbids the expression of national indignation, loses no opportunity of exciting well-founded discontent.

I am as anxious as your Lordship to uphold the cause of order—perhaps I may be allowed to say, that I have an infinitely greater interest than your Lordship in maintaining the public peace and the rights of property in Ireland; but so long as my fellow-countrymen abstain from violating any moral law, I shall feel it a privilege to participate in whatever indignities or sufferings may be inflicted upon them by their anti-Irish rulers.

Being desirous to perform my duties as a free citizen of a free state, without infringing any established law, I may be permitted to ask your Lordship, who are the chief interpreter of the laws of Ireland, not more for my own guidance than for that of others, with what number of loyal, peaceful and well-disposed persons I am at liberty to associate myself in an open public meeting, in case I should be driven, by continued misgovernment, to ask from the British Legislature a repeal of the Act of Union?

Is the legal maximum 100, 1,000, 10,000 or 100,000?

Does the law, as interpreted by your Lordship, apply equally to England?

I have, &c.

To the Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

William S. O'Brien.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
1 June 1843.

By the direction of the Lord Chancellor, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th May, and I beg to inform you that, in consequence of your request, you have been superseded as a magistrate for the counties of Clare and Limerick. The Lord Chancellor cannot think that any act of his has rendered this step necessary on your part; but he refrains from answering your observations, as the subject is now before Parliament.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

W. S. O'Brien, Esq., M. P.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
24 May 1843.

I am directed by the Lord Chancellor to inform you, that it is with regret that he has felt it his duty to supersede you as a magistrate for the county of Dublin. I beg to enclose a copy of a letter written by the Lord Chancellor's direction to Lord Fitzmaurice, which will explain the grounds upon which this step has been taken.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Nicholas Boylan, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

9, Fitzwilliam-square South, 2 June 1843.

PERCEIVING by the public prints that your Lordship has considered it advisable to remove from the magistracy a number of gentlemen of rank and property, well known for loyalty and attachment to their Sovereign, for reasons of their having attended public meetings convened for the purpose of petitioning for the repeal of the Union; and also observing that it has been stated, that measures of a coercive nature are to be enacted to stifle public opinion, and cushion one of the very few remaining privileges left to the Irish people, namely, the right of publicly meeting to discuss any grievances which may affect them, and petition for their removal; considering, my Lord, that should the arbitrary and unconstitutional threat of the Minister be made the law of the land, it would deeply affect all denominations of Her Majesty's subjects, Conservative as well as Repealer, or any other body complaining of grievances under which they might labour:

Should such threat be followed up, and become a law, feeling I could not conscientiously, if officially called upon, be a party in carrying out a measure fraught with such oppression of the people, and which might by possibility eventually become dangerous to the welfare and safety of the British Empire, I beg respectfully to tender to your Lordship my resignation of the commission of the peace for the county of Dublin.

I have, &c.

Patrick Curtis.

To the Right hon. the Lord Chancellor,
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
5 June 1843.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3d June, and to inform you that the Lord Chancellor has superseded you as a magistrate, at your own request.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Patrick Curtis, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
5 June 1843.

I HAVE this day seen a letter in the *Samdera* newspaper from you, complaining of the manner in which your name appears in a paragraph, headed "More Dismissals of Magistrates." I can only regret that any statement, unpleasant to you, should have been made in the public papers, for which, however, I am not answerable, and I need hardly say, that the Lord Chancellor never heard of the matter subsequently to signing the warrants. The delay that occurred in the issuing of the warrants arose from their not having been called for by you. The ordinary rule is, that a magistrate wishing to be superseded should call for his warrant, and until the supersedens is made out, he remains in the commission of the peace, and liable to be called upon to act at any moment. Having written to you in the beginning of January last, I had performed all that was necessary on my part; but finding, on the 30th of May, that the warrants had not been called for, and thinking that as your reason for resigning the commission was on account of age, some inconvenience might arise to you, I sent the warrants to the Hammer Office, but certainly with no intention of connecting you with the repeal movement. The statement, that the supersedens was at your own request, is always added in cases like yours, in order to show that the Lord Chancellor has acted only upon the application of the party. You are at full liberty to make any use you think proper of this letter.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.James Sinclair, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

(A true copy.)

Henry Sugden.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
30 May 1843.

It having been reported to the Lord Chancellor that you have recently been admitted a member of the Repeal Association, I am directed to ask you, as a magistrate for the county of Galway, whether the report be correct; and if so, whether you were admitted with your own consent.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.Francis Conyn, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

6, North Frederick-street, 2 June 1843.

YOUR letter of the 30th ult., requiring to know as to the correctness of a report made to the Lord Chancellor of my having been admitted a member of the Repeal Association, owing to its being directed to Galway, did not reach me until this day.

In reply, I beg to state that I have had the honour to be a member of that loyal and distinguished body, at my own desire, conceiving that repeal would be beneficial to my country; and that the means used to attain that end are perfectly constitutional and legal.

I have, &c.

Francis Conyn.

Envelope addressed—

Henry Sugden, Esq.,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin.

My Lord,

Castlequin, Cahirciveen, 30 May 1843.

I am respectfully to state, that on perusing a letter written by your Lordship's authority to Lord Ffrench, and your reasons therein stated for erasing his name from the list of magistrates, I am unwilling to put your Lordship to the trouble of paying me a similar compliment (on my determination to attend at the next repeal meeting in my locality) by resigning into your hands the commission you did me the honour to confer on me, the duties of which I reluctantly resumed, and I trust hitherto discharged with strict impartiality and integrity, though I have not, at any time, taken an active part in the momentous question of a repeal of the Union, and was at one period decidedly opposed to it. I feel that a commission which can no longer be retained, except by disreputable subserviency, and by the surrender of one of the most cherished privileges of a subject who dares to call himself free (viz. the honest and fearless expression of his sentiments on all public measures), must cease to be held consistently either with honour or self-respect, and should at once be thrown up by every person who prefers the possession of those qualities to those of servility and sycophancy.

I have, &c.

Kean Mahony.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
25 May 1843.

Sir,

THE Lord Chancellor's attention having been drawn to a published letter, purporting to be signed by you, stating your intention to preside at a repeal meeting in Kilkenny, I am directed to ask you, as a magistrate for the county of Kilkenny, whether the statement be correct.

Pierce Somerset Butler, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Sir,

Lodge Park, Freshfield, 26 May 1843.

I HAVE received your letter of the 25th instant, and beg to state, for the information of the Lord Chancellor, that it is my intention to preside at a meeting for the purpose of petitioning Parliament to repeal the Union, which the people of Kilkenny intend holding on the 8th June.

I was waited on by a most respectable deputation, and accepted the chair upon their solemn assurance that the projected meeting was to be conducted in strict accordance with order, tranquillity, and respectful obedience to the laws of the land.

I have no hesitation in avowing the public letter alluded to by the Lord Chancellor, and published in the Kilkenny Journal of Wednesday, 24th May.

To H. Sugden, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
Pierce Somerset Butler.

Sir,

Ballyspellan House, Johnstown,
6 June 1843.

I HAVE the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 3d instant, and in reply beg to state that I neither *had* or *have* the slightest idea of resigning my commission of the peace. The document received by you with my signature is a base forgery. May I request you will forward me the same, and let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

H. Sugden, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
George Delany.

Sir,

Barmeth, Dunleer, 2 June 1843.

HAVING heard from a brother magistrate of Mr. de Verdon, of Curlingford, in this county, that he was about to be superseded for holding repeal principles, he not having signed any requisition or attended any repeal meeting, as I am informed: may I beg through you to know if such be the case? My object in addressing you is to prevent the loss of so efficient a magistrate in a large and populous district, where there is no other resident magistrate, and where there is no one that I am aware of that could be placed in the commission.

To H. Sugden, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
P. Bellew,
Lieut., County Louth.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
6 June 1843.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d instant, and to inform you that the Lord Chancellor felt it his duty to supersede Mr. de Verdon because he had become a member of the Repeal Association.

The Right hon. Sir Patrick Bellew,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

(A true copy.)

Henry Sugden.

My Lord,

Tullarone Cottage, 7 June 1843.

I HAVE just received a supersedeas from the commission of the peace for the county of Kilkenny, signed "C. Fitzsimon, Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper."

I received yesterday the following letter:

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Dublin, 5 June 1843.

I AM directed by the Lord Chancellor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st of June, and to inform you that, in consequence of it, the Lord Chancellor has directed you to be superseded.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

W. F. Finn, Esq.

Your Lordship will readily conceive that I have a right to be furnished with at least a copy of this letter bearing my signature, with the contents of which I am naturally anxious to be made acquainted for the first time, never having had the honour of writing a line to your Lordship in my life till now.

I have, &c.

W^m Francis Finn.

To the Right hon. Edward Sugden,
Lord High Chancellor of Ireland.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
8 June 1843.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Lord Chancellor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and to express his regret that you should have experienced any inconvenience from the improper use of your name. Other letters have been received which are believed to be forgeries. Measures have, however, been adopted by which any further inconvenience to the magistracy, in consequence of their names being improperly used, will be avoided.

I have this day lodged in the Hanaper Office a warrant for your reinstatement, and your commission will probably be forwarded by this night's post. The letter purporting to be signed by you has been forwarded to another department, but I expect to receive it back shortly, and I will immediately forward it to you. I must request you will have the kindness to return it to me as soon as you have done with it, as it will be necessary to consider whether steps should not be taken to discover the writers of these letters.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

William Francis Finn, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

Dublin, 27, Summer Hill, 14 June 1843.

ON my return last night from the Continent, I looked over the correspondence and the discussions which have lately taken place in regard to the opinions of Irish magistrates on the subject of repeal; and the result of a calm consideration of the course pursued by Government is, that I hold the commission of the peace on conditions incompatible with the free exercise of my judgment on a question which may be legally entertained by any British subject. While a perfectly free agent, I exercise my opinion on the subject of repeal in opposition to those generally entertained, without, I believe, thereby impairing in the least my influence as a magistrate: I can do so no longer; I therefore beg respectfully to resign the commission of the peace for the King's County.

I have, &c.

John Haney Walsh.

The Right hon. the Lord Chancellor.

(A true copy.)

Henry Sugden, Secretary.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
16 June 1843.

Sir,

THE Lord Chancellor has received a letter, purporting to be signed by you, resigning the commission of the peace for the King's County, and I am directed to ask you whether that letter be genuine, as in that case the Lord Chancellor will immediately comply with your request.

I have, &c.

H. Sugden,
Secretary.

J. H. Walsh, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

27, Summer Hill, 18 June 1843.

My father, being ill, has directed me to inform you, that the letter, to which your note of the 15th refers, is genuine.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden, Esq.

John Hussey Walsh.

(A true copy.)

Henry Sugden, Secretary.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
30 May 1843.

It having been reported to the Lord Chancellor that you have recently been admitted a member of the Repeal Association, I am directed to ask you, as a magistrate for the county of Louth, whether the report be correct, and if so, whether you were admitted with your own consent.

I have, &c.

Richard de Verdon, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.*Henry Sugden,*
Secretary.

Sir,

Monkland, near Carlingford, 1 June 1843.

I HAVE had the honour of receiving your communication of 30th ult., and in reply have to inform you, it was with my consent I was put in nomination as a member of the Loyal National Repeal Association.

I have, &c.

To Henry Sugden, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.*R. de Verdon.*

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
10 June 1843.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that the Lord Chancellor has felt it to be his duty to supersede you as a magistrate for the county of Longford, in consequence of your having presided as chairman at a repeal meeting in Longford on the 28th of May.

I have, &c.

Christopher Nugent, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.*Henry Sugden,*
Secretary.

Sir,

Killsnoona, 14 June 1843.

I now have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, informing me that the Lord Chancellor has thought proper to supersede me as a magistrate for the county of Longford.

I remain, &c.

Henry Sugden, Esq.

Christopher Nugent.

(A true copy.)

Henry Sugden.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
27 May 1843.

I AM directed by the Lord Chancellor to inform you, that it is with regret that he has felt it his duty to supersede you as a magistrate for the county of Limerick.

I beg to enclose a copy of a letter written by the Lord Chancellor's direction to Lord Fitzmaurice, which will explain to you the grounds upon which this step has been taken.

I have, &c.

Caleb Powell, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.*Henry Sugden,*
Secretary.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
24 May 1843.

Sir,

It having been reported to the Lord Chancellor that you have recently attended repeal meetings, I am directed to ask you, as a magistrate for the county of Mayo, whether the report be correct, and if so, whether you attended any such meeting subsequently to the declarations in Parliament by Her Majesty's Ministers, of their intention to maintain the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

J. M. Macdonnell, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Doo Castle, 26 May 1843 (the repeal year).

I HAVE just received your letter, and in reply have only to state, that I had the honour of presiding as chairman at a repeal meeting in Tohercurry on the 7th of May, the particulars of which I have taken out of the Sligo Champion, and take leave to enclose you.

I have, &c.

J. M. Macdonnell.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
30 May 1843.

Sir,

As the meeting of which you were chairman was held so far back as the 7th of May, the Lord Chancellor would have acted in your case as he has in the cases of other magistrates who have attended similar meetings before the declarations by Her Majesty's ministers in the two Houses of Parliament, and you would not have been troubled with another letter from me; but as you have unnecessarily sent to the Lord Chancellor the account of the meeting from the Sligo Champion, and it there appears that you stated that you expected to have been dismissed, and that for your part you would sooner fling the commission to the winds than give up the cause of repeal, he supposes that you send this as a present expression of your opinion, and a renewed declaration that you intend to attend like meetings in future. I beg to request you to inform me whether you sent the extract with this view, as in that case the Lord Chancellor would feel it his duty to supersede you as a magistrate.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

J. M. Macdonnell, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Doo Castle, 2 June (the repeal year).

I HAD the honour to receive your letter, and I wish respectfully to assure the Lord Chancellor, that his Lordship has formed a just estimate of my motives when I enclosed in my former letter to you the report of the last repeal meeting, where I presided; I now repeat, that I have only held the commission of the peace for the benefit of the surrounding poor people in this district; but although it might gratify me to hold it for their advantage, yet the suppression of my opinion upon the great question of repeal would be more than I could endure, even for the sake of being the "poor man's magistrate." My mind has been made up for a long time as to the necessity of the repeal of the Legislative Union, believing it the best measure to serve the interests of my neglected and ill-treated country.

I can now only say that I shall continue to attend every meeting which is legal and constitutional, and in doing so, I do not consider that I infringe upon the rights of a British subject, whose privilege it is to petition Parliament for the redress of grievances.

In stating my sentiments thus openly to you, I do not mean any disrespect to the Lord Chancellor.

I have, &c.

J. M. Macdonnell.

Addressed to Henry Sugden, Esq.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
5 June 1843.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d instant, and to state that the Lord Chancellor has felt it his duty to supersede you as a magistrate for the counties of Sligo and Mayo.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

J. M. Macdonnell, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Reesbro', 27 May 1843.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th instant, containing a supersession of my commission of the peace, dated the 16th October 1815; also a copy of a letter to Lord Ffrench, which you say will explain the grounds for so doing: I do not perceive that I exactly come within its scope, as *I did not attend the meeting in Cashel, or sign the requisition concerning it*. I was requested by my late constituents in that town to preside at a dinner to Mr. O'Connell, and of course I acceded to their wish, but did not reach Cashel until the meeting was over. Do not, sir, for a moment suppose that I state these facts from any other motive than to place the affair on its proper footing. After what is now laid down as law, viz., that no magistrate is free to ask for the alteration or repeal of an obnoxious Act of Parliament but at the *ipse dixit* of the Ministry for the time being—is so contrary to what I thought was constitutional, that I cannot regret being released from what was always an anxious, but is now a most undignified, situation.

Henry Sugden, Esq.
 &c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.

James Roe.

(A true copy.)

Henry Sugden.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
 28 May 1843.

I AM directed by the Lord Chancellor to inform you, that it is with regret that he has felt it his duty to supersede you as a magistrate for the county of Tipperary.

I beg to enclose a copy of a letter written by the Lord Chancellor's direction to Lord Ffrench, which will explain to you the grounds upon which this step has been taken.

James Roe, Esq.
 &c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
 Secretary.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
 23 May 1843.

THE Kilkenny Journal of the 20th instant has been forwarded to the Lord Chancellor, in which, under the head of "Kilkenny Repeal Demonstration," your name is inserted as one of the persons calling a meeting for the 8th June next. I am directed to ask you, as a magistrate for the county of Galway, whether your name was inserted in the list with your approbation.

Alexander Sherlock, Esq.
 &c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
 Secretary.

Sir,

Kellsasp, May 1843.

I AUTHORIZED my name to be put to the requisition for a repeal meeting in the county of Kilkenny in my individual capacity, not as a magistrate, as I could not act as such in the county of Kilkenny, being out of my jurisdiction. As a Repealer I shall use all my influence there and every where to preserve the peace, as it is only through constitutional means, and by the united petitions of all classes of the community, free from any thing sectarian, that I either hope or expect success. I should have written by return of post, but was confined to my bed.

Henry Sugden, Esq.
 &c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.

Alexander Sherlock.

My Lord,

Ballytrent, Wexford, 2 June 1843.

ORDERING by your Lordship's letter to Lord Ffrench that the tenure of Irish commissions of the peace must now depend, not upon the impartial administration of constitutional law, but upon subservience to the wishes of Government, however those wishes may conflict with the constitutional rights of the magistrates, I beg to resign my commission of the peace for the county of Wexford, which I have held for now twenty-one years.

To the Right hon.
 The Lord Chancellor of Ireland,
 &c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.

John H. Talbot.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
5 June 1843.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d June, and to inform you that the Lord Chancellor has superseded you as a magistrate, at your own request.

John H. Talbot, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

My Lord,

Stephen's Green, 3 June 1843.

THE late Mr. Grattan supported and presented to Parliament petitions for the Repeal of the Act of Union; he declared, that he considered such a measure quite compatible with British connexion, and never said, and, as I know, never thought it was a "*dismemberment*," of the empire.

His principles (as far as lay in my power) have been the rule of my conduct; but, owing to the steps taken by your Lordship consequent to the declarations reported to have been made by Ministers, I think it fair to state, that I have been called on by several of my constituents to attend at meetings and dinners on this subject; that I mean to uphold there the same principles that I have in my place in Parliament; and that I do not intend to depart from the example taught by a wise and experienced instructor, and one so faithful, at every hazard, to the connexion with Great Britain.

Notwithstanding the high legal authority of your Lordship, I cannot consent to abandon a course which, as a free citizen of this empire, I have hitherto pursued, I trust, with moderation, and I know, with firmness; still less can I submit to yield there my free and hereditary opinions, together with the ancient, recognized and indubitable right of every loyal subject, in defence to the declarations of a Minister which are at variance with the practice of the constitution, whose changes, too, in politics have been very remarkable, and might prove, hereafter, very fallacious.

Under these circumstances, should your Lordship consider that the commission of the peace is no longer safe in my hands, I beg to offer my resignation, which your Lordship is at perfect liberty to accept.

I have, &c.
Henry Grattan.

To the Lord Chancellor of Ireland,
&c. &c. &c.

(A true copy.)

Henry Sugden,
Secretary to the Lord Chancellor.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
6 June 1843.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3d instant, and I am directed by the Lord Chancellor to say, that much as he should regret having to take that step, he would feel it his duty to accept of your resignation if you do attend a repeal meeting. The objection on the part of the Government to magistrates forming part of such a meeting is, that it is inconsistent with the duties they may be called upon to perform for the preservation of the public peace; and that objection is not removed by the moderation of their own views. In your case, the Lord Chancellor has the satisfaction of knowing that you can in your place in Parliament give full expression to your sentiments in favour of repeal, and that it is not necessary for you to attend a repeal meeting for that purpose.

Henry Grattan, Esq., M. P.
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

(A true copy.)

Henry Sugden.

My Lord,

Stephen's Green, 8 June 1843.

ON my return from the county of Meath, I had the honour of receiving the letter from your Secretary, in which appears a suggestion, "that I can in my place in Parliament give full expression to my sentiments, and that it is not necessary for me to attend meetings for that purpose."

With every deference towards your Lordship, for whose legal knowledge I entertain the highest respect, I beg to observe, that from 1820 to 1843, I acted under that opinion, and found it perfectly useless. The late Mr. Grattan, from 1805 to 1830, did the same—here also it proved fruitless: his advice within the doors of Parliament was disregarded; while others from without were attended to, and succeeded. At present, the Irish representatives most esteemed by the people experience the same fatality; their advice is rejected, and hence the great body of the people of Ireland have nearly lost all confidence in the Imperial Parliament. In such a melancholy state of things, men naturally, and of necessity,

fall back on the other resources provided by the constitution, of which they do not think they should be deprived simply because they are magistrates—the right to meet, to assemble, discuss. Petition, or remonstrate, was secured to the people of this realm at the Revolution, which settled the Crown on the House of Hanover, and the Irish are not likely to abandon these for the empty enjoyment of the commission of the peace.

There are many circumstances that bear them out on this subject, and corroborate their opinion. Your Lordship well knows (for you were in Parliament at the time) that the calumnies, the abuse and the libels cast upon the Irish; the *Spottiswood confederacy*, and the subscriptions got up against them and their representatives; the unmitigated attacks made upon them within and without both Houses of Parliament, aggravated tenfold by the licentious press then under the patronage of the present Government; this warfare directed not only against the popular Irish representatives, but against the people of Ireland, and in particular against their clergy and their religion, against the most meritorious pastors, against the most inoffensive, serviceable and sanctified characters: these were the creditable means resorted to for turning out of power the party that *leaned towards Ireland*, and replacing it by a Ministry who have procured a more *anti-Irish House of Commons than was ever collected together since the days of Mr. Percival*. These circumstances have alienated from Parliament the hearts of the Irish people; and every fresh debate shows how useless it is for Irish Members to address an Assembly of Legislators constituted as the present.

Is not, then, the conduct of the Irish people natural? In addition to this, look to the state of the country: all classes throughout all branches of the community are fast sinking—agricultural, commercial, trading and manufacturing—a *silent but steady descent*; trade depressed and deteriorated; manufactures almost extinct; the public revenue decreased; rents of land unpaid and unpayable; absentees augmenting; employment for the artisan and the labourer scarcely to be procured; hundreds and thousands of men standing idle in the towns and villages throughout the country; and, though provisions are cheap, yet there is no money to purchase them. The great landed proprietors are absentees, and employ very few workmen or labourers; and the rich, who occasionally remain in Ireland, *now resort to periwigs*, in order to make up for the expenses and extravagance incurred abroad. Most of the estates are charged with debts, annuities, judgments, custodians and mortgages—not the result of overtrading or extravagance in Ireland, but the appendages of a pauperized country, and an unemployed population. On all sides we behold beggars, barracks, police and poor-houses, but nobility and gentry nowhere. In addition to these evils, religious discord is kept alive, and an invidious preference given to Protestants and Englishmen over Catholics and Irishmen; tenants are turned adrift in a most merciless manner, sometimes even at the point of the bayonet; entire districts are depopulated, and the poor are driven to the roadside, homeless and unprotected; in some cases, too, prejudice and bigotry assume the ascendancy over justice and humanity; and the Catholic tenant is banished to make place for those of a more fortunate and favoured creed.

My Lord, allow me to assure you that the people of Ireland are acquiring more *rational* and more elegant tastes than those merely requisite for the feeding of *lean cattle*, and exporting fat ones; they begin to think that 3,300,000 paupers (as stated and set forth in the House of Commons' Report) is a strange proof of good government on the part of Great Britain; they begin to think that Insurrection Acts, Arms Bills, the repeated suspension of the constitution, and an inundation of military, are not the best tests to try the blessings of the British Government; they begin to think that they should refuse this *their daily bread*, and should soon to keep it in store for their children 43 years longer; they begin to think that these things did not exist before 1800, and naturally seek for the restoration of their domestic Parliament; and they must be somewhat confirmed in their determination, when they find it confessed by the British Minister that the only remedies that he can find are an amended Poor Law Bill, and an Arms Bill,—the one founded on the distrust of the people, the other on their degradation.

My Lord, I refrain from entering on the Church question; but we hear *ominous sounds* coming from England, that "*the Irish Church must be abolished, and the Protestant Establishment put down*,"—words not only uttered in the London clubs, but published in their papers—(against this I at once beg to record my protest). Nothing, however, would surprise in this age of political turpitude; nor should I wonder if, at no distant day, some British Minister would sell the Protestant Church, in order to buy or bribe (as before attempted) the Roman Catholic. This, indeed, would be the perpetuation of discord; but the custom of sale and barter is so well known in that great commercial country, that it would only be another step in modern delinquency, only a lower descent in this degenerate age of ministerial immorality and tergiversation.

My Lord, the doctrine sought to be laid down by your Lordship, that the duty of a magistrate is incompatible with his attendance at public meetings, cannot be sustained for a moment. No such rule is known to the law or constitution, and the practice is entirely the reverse. Equally untenable is the position that the duty of a representative is confined to the walls of Parliament: the contrary is now in the fullest operation in England, where the strongest supporters of Ministers (magistrates too) attend dinners and public meetings on the Corn Laws, to collect the sense of the people on this important subject. Here, then, we find a rule attempted to be enforced in Ireland that does not exist in England; and Ireland now beholds a second *English Lord Chancellor* extending the expressions of one of his predecessors, who said that "in Ireland there were two laws, one for the rich and the other for the poor, and both equally ill-administered." You, my Lord, proclaim that there are to be two laws, one for the English and another for the Irish, and both, I apprehend, will be very *differently administered*.

My Lord, I feel at heart the distress of my country, and I foresee more calamities; and when Government pour in troops, and strive to terrify, instead of seeking to redress; at the moment that, within hearing and almost view of their own officials, the grossest outrages are perpetrated in open day by a faction who *late* had sympathisers in the Castle of Dublin as well as in both Houses of Lords and Commons; at the same time that I see magistrates superseded and threatened with dismissal for exercising the ancient and indelible rights of the subject: I dread lest I might be called upon to enforce violent, vacillating or vindictive measures, and therefore I will not hold any commission under such a Government. No peace can exist in a well-regulated mind if the individual does an act or takes a step in reference to a Government, while that Government conceives he is bound in duty and honour to do exactly the reverse. I will not set up private feelings in opposition to any alleged public duty. Independence is preferable to constrained forbearance or timid acquiescence.

The case of Captain Mockler, who did not attend any public meeting or dinner, but who was questioned and interrogated in a very summary manner as to his sentiments on repeal, is too close an imitation of another Lord Chancellor's conduct (Lord Clare), in reference to the University of Dublin in former times, to meet with many admirers in this country. It seems the grossest outrage on the constitutional rights of a free subject, and casts in the shade all your former political proceedings. But, my Lord, you mistake the character of the people of Meath—they have been ever foremost in the cause of freedom—they will recollect the glorious and immortal memory of 1782—and the great mass of the people are there self-pledged to seek for the restoration of the Irish Parliament. In 1782, the person who signed the declaration, "*that the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland were alone competent to make laws to bind that kingdom*," was the high sheriff of the county—his name was Grattan. I rejoice it was. Did the Minister of the day interrogate or dismiss him? No such thing! Why, then, my Lord, at the suggestion, perhaps, of some Government spy, should Captain Mockler be estedised and tried by your Lordship's interrogatories?

In the days of Swift, the then Lord Lieutenant asked who the Grattans were? when Swift replied, "Not know the Grattans! why, my Lord, they could raise 10,000 men." I venture to say that the affection for that name has not diminished, and that instead of 10,000 it could now raise 100,000; while the British Minister might parade through the country with a miserable minority, scarce exceeding in number his Parliamentary majority that governs Ireland, and which is said to have cost the country near one million and a half at the last elections. The unpurchasable men of Meath will support their magistrates though superseded—they possess a spirit that would have done honour to Greece or Rome in the proudest day of their heroic virtues, and are ready to make greater sacrifices at the shrine of freedom than either a British Minister or a British Chancellor can appreciate or comprehend.

On these various grounds, my Lord, I beg leave to send in my resignation. I anxiously wish that your Lordship may preserve the peace of the country that the Ministry you set under seem so little to have at heart—her prosperity. I know the people well. I know *their* desire peace, and therefore I think your Lordship will be able to preserve it. Fully agreeing with them in these objects, I beg to assure your Lordship, that though I shall cease to be a magistrate, Her Majesty and Her people will not have a more ardent supporter, or a more strenuous advocate, than the humble individual who has the honour to subscribe himself,

Your, &c.

Henry Grattan.

To the Right hon. the Lord Chancellor,
&c. &c. &c.

(A true copy.)

Henry Sugden.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
- 10 June 1843.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to the Lord Chancellor of the 5th instant, and I am directed to inform you, that as you have now, after full deliberation, sent in your resignation, the Lord Chancellor has felt himself compelled to act upon it. He presumes that you do not expect him to answer the general observations in your letter, but he directs me to say, that you have been misinformed as to Captain Mockler's case. That gentleman was not, as you suppose, interrogated as to his sentiments on repeal, nor has such an interrogation been addressed by the Lord Chancellor to any man. Captain Mockler was asked, "Whether he had not addressed a letter to the persons who convened a repeal meeting for the 19th May, and which letter conveyed his adhesion to the Repeal Association?" Such a letter addressed to such a meeting must have been intended as a public declaration of the writer's adhesion to the repeal movement, and would of course have been read at the meeting. The letter which I wrote to Captain Mockler was to inquire whether he had written such a public letter, conveying his adhesion to the Repeal Association, and not to ask what his sentiments on repeal were, or whether he had communicated them to others. You are aware that Captain Mockler has not been superseded. The Lord Chancellor thinks it proper to disclaim having sought, as you state, to lay down the doctrine, that the duty of a magistrate is incompatible with his attendance at public meetings, or that the duty of a representative is confined to the walls of Parliament. The observations, to

which your letter is an answer, applied only to repeal meetings in the present agitated state of the country, and to your power to deliver your sentiments in favour of repeal in your place in Parliament.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Henry Grattan, Esq., M. P.
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

(No date. Received 2 June 1843.)

As I find I cannot continue a magistrate without surrendering my right of attending public meetings, legally constituted, to petition Parliament, I beg leave to resign the commission of the peace I hold for this borough.

I have, &c.

Tho. Ennis.

The Lord Chancellor of Ireland,
&c. &c. &c.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
6 June 1843.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, received the 3d instant, and to inform you that the Lord Chancellor has superseded you as a magistrate, at your own request.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Thomas Ennis, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

Greenhill, Drogheda, 1 June 1843.

As I find I cannot hold the commission of the peace without surrendering the invaluable right of legally meeting to petition Parliament, I beg respectfully to tender my resignation as a magistrate for the borough of Drogheda.

I have, &c.

Pat^r Ternan.

The Lord Chancellor of Ireland,
Dublin.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
5 June 1843.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st June, and to inform you that the Lord Chancellor has superseded you as a magistrate, at your own request.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Patrick Ternan, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
28 May 1843.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Lord Chancellor to inform you, that it is with regret that he has felt it his duty to supersede you as a magistrate for the county of Sligo.

I beg to enclose a copy of a letter, written by the Lord Chancellor's direction to Lord French, which will explain to you the grounds upon which this step has been taken.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

J. P. Somers, Esq., M. P.
&c. &c. &c.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
25 May 1843.

Sir,

It having been reported to the Lord Chancellor that you have recently attended repeal meetings, I am directed to ask you, as a magistrate for the county of Mayo, whether the report be correct; and if so, whether you attended any such meeting subsequently to the declarations in Parliament by Her Majesty's Ministers, of their intention to maintain the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

R. Dillon Browne, Esq., M. P.
&c. &c. &c.

My dear Lord Carew,

Murison's Hotel, 31 May 1843.

It is with extreme regret I feel compelled to return to your Lordship the commission of deputy lieutenant, with which you were so good as to honour me, and under which it has been so great a pleasure to me to co-operate in the preservation of the peace of this county with your Lordship, with whom I have had a perfect community of feeling upon every leading question but the one now so largely engaging public attention. The letter addressed to Lord Ffrench by the Lord Chancellor, and referred to in similar communications to others, as containing the grounds of their removal from the magistracy, appears to me to infer an exercise as of right, on the part of an individual official of the Executive, of a power to require an entire submission of opinion on any or every public measure from those who, from property, station, and the sense of attendant public duty, accept the commission of the peace. Such an arbitrary power I conceive not alone totally contrary to the spirit of the constitution, but not consistent with the honourable sense of private or public independence, and capable of being extended and abused to the worst purposes. I deferred taking this step until the opinion of the Government should be expressed, in the hope it would disclaim such a principle with the censure it deserves, as the result of the mistaken views of a person intrusted with that department of the public service. I find, however, by the report of the late Parliamentary debates, that, on the contrary, the Government has adopted it.

Having withdrawn from the representation of this county, and as I cannot therefore in Parliament express my dissent from this principle, I feel it due to my late constituency to take the earliest opportunity of giving publicity through the press to this communication. It is, I trust, unnecessary for me to state that I resign the commission with the consciousness that the unsolicited confidence it placed in me has not been perverted to the disturbance of that peace, in the preservation of which, and of the support of well-regulated authority, I must, with your Lordship, and every gentleman in the community, feel an interest, at least as great as any official person in temporary connexion with the administration of affairs.

I have, &c.

The Right hon. Lord Carew,
&c. &c. &c.

John Maher.

My Lord,

Castle Boro', Enniscorthy, 7 June 1843.

I REGRET extremely to have to forward the enclosed letter from Mr. Maher, resigning his commission as magistrate and deputy lieutenant for the county of Wexford; it should have been sent when I received it, but that I supposed, until Mr. Maher called upon me this day, that he had himself written to your Lordship. It is only a public duty to say, that from his property, character and rank in society, there is no person upon whose co-operation I should have relied with more confidence to preserve the peace of the county, if it should be disturbed, of which, however, there is no apprehension; and perhaps I should add, though not authorized by Mr. Maher to say so, that in his conversation with me this day, he voluntarily stated that up to the present time he had never belonged to any association, or taken part in the present agitation.

I have, &c.

Corcoran.

Addressed to
The Lord Chancellor of Ireland,
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

Stephen's Green, 8 June 1843.

I COULD not, without great reluctance, accept of Mr. Maher's resignation of the commission of the peace, and I hope I shall not be called upon to take that step. For Mr. Maher, in his letter to your Lordship, places the act of the Government, in superseding magistrates, upon grounds which they altogether disclaim. He treats it as the exercise as of right, on the part of an individual official of the Executive, of a power to require an entire submission of opinion on any or every public measure from those who, from property, station, and the sense of attendant public duty, accept the commission of the peace. Now, until the repeal movement became dangerous, the Government did not attempt to interfere with the expression of opinion by any magistrate in favour of repeal. But when it became necessary to provide for the public peace, and to guard against the consequences of vast assemblages of the people, to whom language is addressed that no upholder of a real union between the two countries can approve of, the Government were reluctantly compelled to ascertain upon whom they could rely for the preservation of the public peace. It was the danger that menaced the State which rendered this step necessary, and not a desire on the part of the Executive to make any man's opinion defer to theirs. The moment had arrived when the power of the Crown to create conservators of the public peace could not be exercised in favour of those who supported a movement which the responsible Ministers of the Crown deemed incompatible with public safety. I shall rejoice if this explanation induces Mr. Maher not to press upon me the resignation which he has tendered. As regards the deputy lieutenancy, I have no control over that; the power is vested in his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.

I have, &c.

Edward B. Sugden.

The Lord Carew,
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

Castle Boro', Enniscorthy, 10 June 1843.

I HAVE this day received and forwarded your Lordship's letter to Mr. Maher, and shall be most happy if the result should be that he will recall his resignation. I regretted extremely that he and Mr. Talbot should have considered it their duty to resign, and attempted to dissuade them. I should hope that, under the circumstances, there will be no more resignations at present, as they could not fail in every way to be injurious to the public.

Addressed to
The Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

I have, &c.
Carew.

My Lord,

Castle Boro', Enniscorthy, 16 June 1843.

I AM happy to forward Mr. Maher's letter, which, being by mistake directed to the county of Waterford, did not reach me till this day.

Addressed to
The Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

I have, &c.
Carew.

My dear Lord Carew,

Dublin, 12 June 1843.

I HAVE read the Lord Chancellor's letter with the deep attention and respect to which it is so eminently entitled, and with many thanks for the flattering compliment of being allowed to reconsider my resignation of the commission of the peace. But allow me to say, that it practically leaves the subject in the same position as to the power of a Government to extend the application of a principle once acted on, as in the present case.

Notwithstanding that perhaps the ill-considered phrase of his Secretary's letter to Lord Ffrench, added to the explanation of Sir James Graham in the House of Commons, led me not unfairly to a different conclusion, I would rejoice that his Lordship disdains, on the part of the Government, the right to interfere with the political opinions of the magistracy. May I be allowed to test the sincerity of that disclaimer by the simple and frank avowal, that I cannot view the question of a Legislative Union in a different point from any other political opinion; nor do I think that his Lordship is borne out practically in his apprehensions for the public peace by the result of those assemblages, large beyond all precedent, who have met to consider the subject. With opinions strongly in favour of a domestic Legislature for this country, and openly avowed, I was returned to Parliament for the county of Wexford. The experience of several years in that House has added to their strength, and I feel that I ought to be a free agent to discuss that subject as well as any others.

My resignation is still in the Lord Chancellor's hands, but with this explanation, in answer to his Lordship's letter, I do not press its acceptance.

Allow me, my dear Lord Carew, to reiterate my thanks for the too kind expressions with which you have coupled my name; at the same time I should have spared myself the pain of making you the vehicle of this correspondence, did I not consider your Lordship the regular official channel in such matters.

I have, &c.
John Maher.

My Lord,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
21 June 1843.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 21st instant, and to state that the Lord Chancellor is glad to find that Mr. Maher does not press his acceptance of his resignation.

I have, &c.
The Lord Carew,
&c. &c. &c.
Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
21 June 1843.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that the Lord Chancellor regrets that he has felt it his duty to supersede you as a magistrate for the county of Clare, in consequence of your having attended a repeal meeting at Ennis.

I have, &c.
Hewitt Bridgeman, Esq., M.P.
&c. &c. &c.
Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
21 June 1843.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that the Lord Chancellor regrets that he has felt it his duty to supersede you as a magistrate for the county of Clare, in consequence of your having presided as chairman at a repeal meeting at Ennis.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Cornelius O'Brien, Esq., M. P.
&c. &c. &c.

Johnstown House, Enfield,
13 June 1843.

My Lord Chancellor,

We learn from Beccaria and other writers that punishment was first instituted amongst civilized nations for a twofold purpose, viz. to deter others from crime, and to amend the criminal.

You, my Lord Chancellor, as the servant of the Government, have received, from Members of both Houses of Parliament and the public press, a large measure of castigation for your unconstitutional attack on the liberty of the subject; but, although the castigation alluded to has, I am sure, brought repentance, it has not, I regret, induced amendment; and as you still continue to persevere in your attempt to deprive individuals (because they happen to be magistrates) of the constitutional right to meet together for the purposes of petition or discussion, I beg leave respectfully to resign my commission of the peace for the county of Meath, which I have held since 1832.

I have, &c.

James Halpin O'Rourke.

Right hon. the Lord Chancellor of Ireland,
&c. &c. &c.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
16 June 1843.

Sir,

THE Lord Chancellor has received a letter, purporting to be signed by you, resigning the commission of the peace for the county of Meath. I am directed to inform you, that if the letter was signed by you, his Lordship will immediately comply with your request.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

J. H. O'Rourke, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Johnstown House, 17 June 1843.

Sir,

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th instant, and beg leave to say that the letter addressed by me to the Lord Chancellor, resigning the commission of the peace for the county of Meath, is a genuine one.

I have, &c.

James H. O'Rourke.

Henry Sugden, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Tourin, 20 June 1843.

My Lord,

I NEED leave to resign my commission of justice of peace for the county of Waterford. I cannot consent to hold it on the condition of concealing my political opinions, and of deserting my fellow-countrymen in their struggles for their just rights. During the late administration I acted as chairman at a repeal meeting in Dungarvan, and the proceedings were conducted with peace and good order. I have not heard of any repeal meeting attended with a breach of the peace, nor does there appear to be any justification for the dismissal of magistrates who attend these meetings. I prefer the free exercise of the right of petition to the commission of the peace.

I have, &c.

Richard Musgrave.

To the Right hon. the Lord Chancellor,
Dublin.

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
21 June 1843.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Lord Chancellor to acknowledge the receipt of a letter, purporting to be signed by you, resigning the commission of the peace, and to inquire whether it be genuine. If it should appear the letter is genuine, his Lordship will immediately comply with your request.

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.

Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart.
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Tourin, 23 June 1843.

In reply to your letter of the 21st, I beg leave to state, that the letter purporting to be from me, resigning the commission of the peace, is genuine.

I have, &c.

To Henry Sugden, Esq.

R. Musgrave.

Sir,

Clonmore, 25 May 1843.

I HAD the honour of receiving your communication of the 24th, and in reply beg to inform you, that the last repeal meeting I attended was at Tobercurry, in the county of Sligo, on Sunday the 7th of this month (May).

I have, &c.

Henry Sugden, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Thomas Phillips, J. P.
for Mayo, Roscommon and Sligo.

Sir,

Clonmore, 17 June 1843.

SINCE I had the honour of informing you that I had attended at a repeal meeting in Tobercurry, I have been in daily expectation of receiving my dismissal from the magistracy; but as I have not since been superseded, I am led to believe that my attendance at that meeting having taken place previous to the ministerial manifesto is not considered sufficient ground for my dismissal. I am not aware by what political process innocence may be turned into guilt at the will of the Minister of the Crown; but I feel that a commission held only as the price of character and opinion is no longer worth retaining, and as such I return it into your hands.

What noble-minded or generous Irishman can now respect any longer a commission, which the world knows he cannot retain, if he dare hold opinions contrary to those of the British Minister? Who but must feel himself tacitly dishonoured and debarred of the right of free opinion? Even if he be an anti-repealer, doth he not feel that he dare not be a repealer? Doth he not feel that the scourge is held over him; that his commission is a chain on his liberty; that the poorest peasant who earns his bread by the work of his hands is freer, more independent than he?

While such are my opinions, I will not deny that I take this step with regret: for 15 years I have discharged the duties of a magistrate for the counties of Mayo, Roscommon and Sligo, with fidelity to my Sovereign, and I also trust with benefit to the community, and most reluctantly do I now resign the power it afforded of suppressing disorder and righting the oppressed; but I have ever considered the office of magistrate to be one of honour, untrammelled by any ties save those of justice and mercy; and when I find it no longer invested with that pure and sacred character; and when I find that he who retains it must be fettered in opinion; that he must be debarred the exercise of a right coeval with England's boasted constitution; that he must not even dare to lift up his voice in deprecation of the misery which oppresses him: I feel that, as a magistrate, I should be no longer the independent servant, but the despised slave of the Crown; that I should be dishonoured in my own estimation, and degraded in that of the world.

May I therefore request you will erase my name from the list of magistrates at your earliest convenience.

Henry Sugden, Esq.

I have, &c.

Thomas Phillips.

Sir,

Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
19 June 1843.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant, and I am directed by the Lord Chancellor to inform you that you have, in compliance with your request, been superseded as a magistrate for the counties of Mayo, Roscommon and Sligo.

I have, &c.

Thomas Phillips, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

Henry Sugden,
Secretary.